CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

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ENGLISH

FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THIRD MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 30 July 1970, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. T. PETROV (Bulgaria)

(Previous verbatim records in this series appeared under the symbols ENDC/PV.1-ENDC/PV.430).

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PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Argentina:	Mr. C. ORTIZ de ROZAS
	Mr. A.F. DUMONT
	Mr. V.E. BERASATEGUI
Brazil:	Mr. R.E. SARAIVA GUERREIRO
	Mr. L.F. PALMEIRA LAMPREIA
Bulgaria:	Mr. T. PETROV
	Mr. I. PEINIRDJIEV
Burma:	U KYAW MIN
Canada:	Mr. G. IGNATIEFF
	Mr. R.W. CLARK
	Mr. R.E. MOORE
Czechoslovakia:	Mr. M. VEJVODA
	Mr. J. STRUCKA
Ethiopia:	Mr. G. ALEMU
Hungary:	Mr. J. PETRAN
	Mr. F. GAJDA
India:	Mr. M.A. HUSAIN
	Mr. K.P. JAIN
Italy:	Mr. R. CARACCIOLO
	Mr. F.L. OTTIERI
	Mr. R. BORSARELLI
	Mr. U. PESTALOZZA

Japan:	Mr. H. TANAKA
	Mr. H. OTSUKA
	Mr. T. SENGOKU
	Mr. J. SAKAMOTO
Mexico:	Mr. M. TELLO
Mongolia:	Mr. D. ERDEMBILEG
	Mr. Z. ERENDO
Morocco:	Mr. M.A.A. KHATTABI
Netherlands:	Mr. H.F. ESCHAUZIER
	Mr. E. BOS
Nigeria:	Mr. C.O. HOLLIST
Pakistan:	Mr. T.O. HYDER
Poland:	Mr. W. NATORF
	Mr. K. ZYBYLSKI
	Mr. H. STEPOSZ
Romania:	Mr. I. DATCU
	Mr. N. CHILIE
Sweden:	Mr. A. EDELSTAM
	Mr. R. BOMAN
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:	Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
	Mr. I.I. TCHEPROV
	Mr. L.A. MASTERKOV
	Mr. Y.C. NAZARKINE

United Arab Republic:	Mr. O. SIRRY
United Kingdom:	Mr. I.F. PORTER
	Mr. J.T. MASEFIELD
	Mr. C.H. GODDEN
	Mr. R. HOULISTON
United States of America:	Mr. J.F. LEONARD
	Mr. A.F. NEIDLE
	Mr. W. GIVAN
	Mr. R.L. McCORMACK
Yugoslavia:	Mr. M. BOZINOVIC
	Mr. M. VUKOVIC
Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General:	Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French): I declare open the 483rd plenary meeting of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

2. Before I call on the first speaker I have a painful duty to perform. It is with profound regret that I announce the sad news of the death of the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Mr. Luvsandorjiin Toiv. I am sure that I interpret the feelings of the whole Committee in requesting the Mongolian delegation to convey to their Government and to the family of the deceased our most sincere condolences.

3. I now call on the representative of Poland.

4. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Since the adoption of resolution 1722 (XVI) at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly it has become obvious that general and complete disarmament has been proclaimed to be the ultimate goal of any forthcoming disarmament negotiations. One must admit that, ever since, a consensus has existed as far as that objective is concerned. To a large extent the same is true of priorities. One can hardly find a single delegation, either in this Committee or in the General Assembly, which would not assign the highest priority to the abolition of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Yet the progress made in the last decade towards those commonly-recognized objectives, although significant, has not been fully satisfactory.

5. Differences have frequently arisen as to whether general disarmament should always be given absolute priority or whether collateral measures of disarmament, aimed first of all at lessening international tension and consolidating confidence among States, could be considered initially as steps towards the broader goal of general and complete disarmament. Past experience shows that our main goal cannot be achieved in one single stroke. Collateral measures of varying importance have so far proved to be a realistic way towards our goal. We believe that partial measures aimed at strengthening confidence among States, and preceding measures of disarmament proper, are extremely important for speeding up the whole process of disarmament.

6. This year our Committee is faced with the implementation of General Assembly resolution 2602 E (XXIV) of 16 December 1969, which calls upon this body to work out "a comprehensive programme, dealing with all aspects of the ... cessation of the arms race and general and complete disarmament ..." (CCD/275) As stated here

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previously, during the spring session certain States discussed the details of a possible programme. The delegations of the Soviet Union (CCD/PV.466, para. 28 et seq.) and Czechoslovakia (CCD/PV.469, paras. 24 et seq.) presented their views on that question at our meetings on 21 and 30 April respectively. Since our session reconvened in June, other delegations have expressed their views on this matter, in particular those of Japan (CCD/PV.471, paras. 25 et seq.), the United States (CCD/PV.472, paras. 2 et seq.), Italy (CCD/PV.475, paras. 2 et seq.), the Netherlands (CCD/PV.478), Sweden (ibid.), Yugoslavia (ibid., paras. 75 et seq.) and Canada (CCD/PV.473, paras. 11 et seq.). I should like to assure the members of this Committee that we shall study carefully the statements made in that respect and, since the majority of them were qualified as preliminary by their authors, I should like now to present the preliminary views of the Polish delegation on this question.

7. Some representatives, and particularly the representative of the United States, Mr. Leonard, have elaborated at some length on the general conditions which must prevail in the international situation if we are to achieve real progress. We agree with a number of those points as well as with the statement that the negotiations on different measures of disarmament do not take place in an abstract, ideal situation but must take into account the hard facts of life which have a definite impact on the international scene. In line with that, we believe that the complete elimination of hot-beds of crisis such as those in South-East Asia and the Middle East is an important factor which influences disarmament negotiations. We all realize that progress in disarmament cannot be dissociated from world peace and world security. That is why we believe that as long as the vestiges of colonialism persist, as long as colonial wars and other military action against national liberation movements are in progress, our task will not be an easy one to fulfil. Nevertheless, we should continue our efforts to secure positive results in our field of activities, bearing in mind especially that progress in disarmament negotiations produces a direct beneficial effect on world peace and international security.

8. We believe that, together with the intensification of the work of our Committee, that of other organs of the United Nations should also be accelerated — for instance, the work on devising a generally-acceptable definition of aggression and on reaching agreement on United Nations peace-keeping operations on the basis of strict observance of the Charter. We understand that the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States is about

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to complete its work, and we hope that it will submit a positive report thereon to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

9. Of course, the application of the principle of universality in the United Nations and the admission to the United Nations of the two German States would contribute greatly to the solution of various problems. In the first place, it would create the possibility of including all the nuclear Powers and all the militarily-significant countries in the process of negotiations on disarmament.

10. Since we all believe that disarmament, world peace and international security are interrelated, a number of measures could be undertaken to make fuller use of the machinery of the United Nations for the implementation of certain provisions of the Charter which have not yet been sufficiently applied, or have not been applied at all. Let us take, for example, the provisions of Chapter VIII referring to the establishment of regional security systems in different parts of the world.

11. In reference to regional security systems, it is worth recalling that global security is composed of security elements within individual geographical regions. In this matter a specific role falls to Europe. In this connexion I cannot but express my satisfaction that in Europe the idea of strengthening security and promoting co-operation among European States is gaining ground. In Europe today all the responsible political forces seem to realize that the political structure of the continent which has emerged in the quarter-century since the end of the last war cannot be altered by military force without destroying everything. Although that is obvious, it is paradoxically in the heart of Europe that the forces of the two most powerful alliances continue to face each other. Europe is still the scene of the deadliest concentration of modern weapons in the world. It is not surprising that, more and more, politicians who think realistically are beginning to feel that the guns and rockets accumulated in Europe are pointing at the shadows of the past — namely, at the cold war.

12. As is well known, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the socialist States parties to the Warsaw Pact have emphasized constantly that they do not link a European security conference with any preliminary conditions, and that the final agenda of such a conference should be discussed and prepared by all the interested parties. What is of particular interest for us, the members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is that collateral, regional measures of disarmament are on the proposed agenda and that there is a high degree of probability that the European conference will establish a permanent body which, among other things, will negotiate those measures of regional disarmament.

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13. In that connexion my delegation notes with satisfaction that the Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Mr. Vratusa, said in his statement here on 14 July: "the present positive trends towards strengthening European security and promoting co-operation among all States should be encouraged." (CCD/PV.478, para. 98) On the same day the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, said: "A recommendation to start regional negotiations should, however, have high priority." (ibid., para. 48) The Polish delegation, for its part, wishes to express its conviction that the European conference for security and co-operation might well be the beginning of the road at the end of which the word "deterrence" would be replaced by the word "confidence". Our final goal would then be within our reach.

14. From what has been said in this Committee about our future work, and in view of our quest for a long-term disarmament programme, one may now assume that a variety of approaches is possible if not desirable. There are opinions to the effect that the programme should consist of a number of consecutive objectives at which we should aim in the course of the decade. For our part, we believe that we cannot anticipate in the same manner what can be done during each part of the whole decade. For instance, the most immediate objectives can be defined with greater clarity than those with which we shall have to deal after the implementation of measures which we now consider to be ripe for solution.

15. We shall have to adjust our work to the consequences of international events independent of this Committee or even of the United Nations framework as a whole. We believe, for example, that if substantial progress is made in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) the possibility of agreement on measures dealt with by our Committee will be considerably greater. Similarly, an important impact upon our programme can be expected from successful results of the conference on European security and co-operation. It seems to us — to use terms from the field of economics — that we shall need both long- and short-term planning. If we want to approach this problem with a sense of realism we must at the outset establish where and how it will be decided that measures are ripe for negotiations, and later, after the accomplishment of a series of positive steps, what other issues have become ready for solution.

16. Before we attempt to answer that question, let us examine the technical experience so far acquired in the field of disarmament negotiations. At the outset it is worth emphasizing that conference machinery and techniques have been successfully

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adapted to the peculiar needs of disarmament negotiations. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, with its particular pattern of representation and organization, has fully proved its usefulness. The General Assembly, on the other hand, has shown beyond any doubt that it can provide guidance and also act as a link between the United Nations and the disarmament machinery operating outside the formal framework of the Organization.

17. Therefore, if we want to become up-to-date on the state of negotiations taking place in the following four forums, which will probably be dealing with different aspects of disarmament — the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the United Nations, the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) and the standing committee of the European conference on security —, it will be wise to have recourse to the representatives of States participating in all those negotiations; and in this case that means the representatives of the USSR and the United States of America, who happen to be co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

18. Hence we would suggest that a long-term programme of disarmament be elaborated on the basis of the many well-taken suggestions made in this Committee and of other proposals which may still be advanced during our debate or even at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Such a programme should provide the guidelines and a framework for organized efforts with a view to undertaking action in this Committee and at the United Nations. The remaining negotiating forums dealing with disarmament, although independent, should also be encouraged by this programme.

19. This long-term programme should guide the shaping of short-term programmes not exceeding, for example, a three-year period — and preferably less than that — to allow of adjustments resulting from new requirements. We would suggest that the elaboration of short-term programmes be entrusted to the co-Chairmen, who would prepare them in consultation with the different groups of States represented in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

20. It has become an uncontested fact in this Committee, in the United Nations and in world public opinion that nuclear disarmament should be given priority. At this point I should like to associate myself with the view aiming at widening this priority so as to include other weapons of mass destruction, as suggested by the representative of Sweden, Mrs. Myrdal, on 14 July (CCD/PV.478, para. 36). However, in order to avoid any misinterpretation of the term "weapons of mass destruction" I would limit their scope to what is described today as atomic, bacteriological (biological)

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and chemical means of warfare. My delegation highly appreciates the noble humanitarian motives which animated the Swedish delegation in proposing the most comprehensive interpretation of that expression. We believe, however, that neither the political bodies responsible for the conduct of disarmament negotiations nor public opinion at large are yet prepared to identify weapons of mass destruction beyond what are generally known as atomic, bacteriological (biological) and chemical means of warfare.

21. Bacteriological (biological) and chemical weapons, in addition to their analogy with nuclear weapons as far as the effect of their use on the civilian population is concerned, have revealed themselves as being weapons of first use by an aggressor. That is why I would suggest that in the comprehensive programme for disarmament top priority be given to the elimination of nuclear, chemical and bacteriological (biological) means of warfare.

22. When dealing with nuclear disarmament we have concentrated on separate measures generally resulting from commitments stemming from the entry into force of a number of treaties, such as the partial test-ban Treaty of 1963 (ENDC/100/Rev.1) and the non-proliferation Treaty of 1968 (ENDC/226*). Both of those treaties are of a preventive character. Their effect cannot be measured by the technical results achieved in slowing down the vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. We are convinced that in the case of the Moscow Treaty such an effect has been achieved for a certain period of time following the signature of the Treaty. Further, we have no reason to doubt that the non-proliferation Treaty will prove to be fully effective in definitively stopping the horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, in strengthening international security through the concrete commitment of the Security Council in its resolution 255 (1968), and in developing the utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

23. The most important achievement of those two Treaties is that they have created favourable conditions for further efforts to stop the arms race and to implement effective measures for banning and, as we sincerely believe, also for destroying nuclear weapons in the future. It is true that in the course of our negotiations, especially in our attempts to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty, a variety of technical obstacles that have been raised and coupled with unequivocal demands to establish on-site inspections as the final means of control have prevented us from finding a solution. I am afraid that today we are still preoccupied with technicalities instead of striving for a political solution.

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24. In the past we were told by several delegations that national means of control for the supervision of the ban on underground nuclear testing were not adequate. Today we note with satisfaction that leading United States experts, such as William Foster, former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Harold Brown -- both of whom were authors of articles published in the April 1969 issue of Foreign Affairs -- affirm that the control of disarmament can be settled without particular difficulty, in view of the development of national methods of control. That is precisely what we are proposing by way of safeguards in a comprehensive test-ban treaty and in the treaty banning the development, production and possession of chemical and bacteriological (biological) means of warfare and requiring the destruction of existing arsenals. So we can see that what is needed is a political decision on those measures which have so far been blocked by the verification issue.

25. The Polish delegation agrees with the statements made by the representatives of Sweden and Japan at our meeting on 14 July, when they stressed that some general ideas on the verification issue ought to be elaborated in a comprehensive programme of disarmament (CCD/PV.478, paras. 50, 57 et seq.). We agree with that suggestion; but we are firm in our conviction that we should concentrate our efforts on an exhaustive study of the use of national means of verification.

26. My delegation is convinced that the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly will approve the text of a treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed. We should then proceed with measures concerning conventional weapons, in order to free that whole area for extensive peaceful exploitation.

27. As we have stated on several occasions in the past, Poland welcomed the non-proliferation Treaty, not only because of the advance which it represents towards international security and the further extension of co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy by virtue of the commitment contained in its article VI, but also because of its article VII, which is quite explicit in asserting that the priority of nuclear disarmament applies also to disarmament efforts pursued on a regional scale.

28. We are approaching the fourteenth anniversary of the Polish proposal for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Europe[1/]. Two of the elements of

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1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, twelfth session, plenary meetings, 697th meeting, paras. 136-137.

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a nuclear-free zone have been taken care of by the non-proliferation Treaty: namely the non-production and the non-acquisition of nuclear weapons by States parties to the Treaty. The Polish Government considers it extremely important that there should be early ratification of the non-proliferation Treaty by all European States. After the entry into force of the non-proliferation Treaty on the territory of European non-nuclear States, Poland will be prepared to propose new measures of regional nuclear disarmament, taking into account what will already have been achieved through the non-proliferation Treaty and other arrangements possibly resulting from the European security conference.

29. We should like to stress again that the starting-point for a disarmament programme should be the implementation of already-existing resolutions and arrangements limiting the scope of development, possession and use of nuclear weapons. Similar significance should be accorded to the complete elimination of bacteriological (biological) and chemical means of warfare. Poland will continue to support disarmament initiatives which effectively limit the threat of war and lead to the lessening of the heavy economic and social burden which the present arms race constitutes.

30. As may have been noted, I have not been able to touch upon the many other complex problems related to a disarmament programme. I have commented on those which we consider to be of primary importance. In conclusion I wish to reaffirm that the Polish Government considers that the task of paramount importance before this Committee is the achievement of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. At no time in its history has mankind ever known disarmament on a global scale. All the greater, therefore, is the challenge facing us when trying to draw up a programme which would speed progress towards that goal.

31. Mr. EDELSTAM (Sweden): Delegations will find before them today a working paper (CCD/297) containing some suggested amendments to the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof (CCD/269/Rev.2). The working paper is formally sponsored by the delegations of Burma, Ethiopia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia.

32. The changes proposed in the working paper refer to article III, where in paragraph 2 a slight amendment is suggested to make certain that knowledge of the beginning of a verification procedure as well as its results is spread among all parties;

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and in paragraph 5 it is suggested that mention should be made of the possibility of verification being undertaken through appropriate international procedures within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. Finally, it is proposed that a new article should be added to the present text spelling out the undertaking of the parties to continue negotiations regarding a more comprehensive prohibition of the use of the sea-bed for military purposes.

33. The merits of those proposals have been developed in detail in earlier statements by the sponsoring delegations. I feel, therefore, that it would be superfluous to repeat them here. At this stage I wish only to repeat that the sponsoring delegations have been inspired by the sole consideration of making the final draft treaty generally acceptable first to this Committee and later to Members of the United Nations. We hope, therefore, that the working paper will be studied in that same spirit by the other delegations, particularly by the co-authors of the draft, and that a new and, as we hope, final draft of the treaty will contain these three modest changes.

34. Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolia): My delegation is grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for the sympathy you expressed on the sad occasion of the death of Mr. Luvsandorjiin Toiv, the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Mongolia. I shall immediately convey to my Government and to the family of the deceased that expression of sympathy in the name of the Committee.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament today held its 483rd plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Taniu Petrov, representative of Bulgaria.

"Statements were made by the Chairman, and the representatives of Poland, Sweden and Mongolia.

"The delegations of Burma, Ethiopia, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia submitted a working paper (CCD/297) on the draft treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof (CCD/269/Rev.2).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 4 August 1970, at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 11.15 a.m.